1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Formerly Naiau brought yams and roast bananas to Lakemba. The Southern Islands formerly brought in no roots, and no first fruits of yams. With the exception of Ono these islands were poor and lived on food obtained in Lakemba. But Oneata and Mothe brought fermented food (*mandrai*) and bananas; Kambara brought coconuts and a shell fish called *kekewa;* Fulanga brought fish and coconuts. Formerly they brought chiefly manufactured articles to Great House and these were called "wares of the land" (*i yau ni vanua*).

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Naiau

Naiau stands in a peculiar position: Tui Naiau holds it. The island is described by the Lakemban nobles as "the land of our little house, of our kitchen." The people are household servants (*kai vale*) of Tui Naiau. They carry firewood for him on their backs, like women, and cook for him with pots like women. They are not very low; if they beg whatever they mention will not be denied. However, in visiting Naiau the Lakemban nobles freely help themselves to food without asking. In the Southern Islands the Lakemban nobles beg of the natives, or may take by force, which is resented; while in Naiau such actions are condoned, "for it is our soil, our animals; the nobles came to Lakemba and left the Naiau people in charge." If any one is rude inside the Tui Naiau's compound, the Naiau people deal with him. They act as indoor-heralds like Katumbalevu.

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The villages of Naiau stand in the following order: Salyia (Nasalia); Narothivo; Liku. The inhabitants of Salia recently lived in Ndevo, but moved to the new village by Maafu. Of old, if a village moved it kept its name, but now it takes the name of the new site. Narothivo was formerly the leading village, and to the present day the chief of Naiau takes his title of Tui Naro from that village, but Nasalia was strong-handed and became chief in the days when Christianity was just beginning. Liku has no position: it is made up of people from the other two villages who went to plant there. The *tauvu* of Naiau is Notho, one of the most noted *tauvu* ships in Lau. (See p. 212.)

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Thithia

Thithia was not a Lakemban dependency of old, but a land that "merely was" (*a vanua ka koto nga*); it is as turned round in consequence of wars. Thithia and Ono are described as *nggali vaka-veitambani* or *nggali veitambani,* the word *tamba* means side, wing; *veitambani* therefore means related as one side to the other; and *nggali veitambani* means that Ono and Thithia are subject to Lakemba inasmuch as each forms one of a pair with Lakemba. The Lakembans, however, can give no explanation of the term, except that

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1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

643 the sea; then the crying of the children and the cutting of firewood is allowed. The Rasau returns to Lomaloma.

MUALEVU

197 [194] The dialect of Mualevu is that of Thakaundrove. Some clans drop the *k*, or rather reduce it to a glottal stop. They say *thawa 'ila;* the others say *thawa kila.*

621 In precedence the villages rank as follows: Mualevu, Mavana, Ndalithoni alias Ndaku perhaps comes third, then perhaps Avea, then Muamua, Thikobia (Thikombia-i-Lau), Mboitathi. The people of Avea formerly 565 lived in the island of Munia which was sold to white men. Munia was noble of old; the chiefs sprang from there. There was one branch of nobles in Mualevu; but it declined and a branch of nobles from Munia was set up instead.

614 656 The old name of the village of Mualevu was Yaro. The clans are described as follows:

Mualevu, the clan of the high chief (Sau). Lomati are like Mualevu; they are nobles but are not appointed high chiefs. They are Envoys to Thakaundrove, and the title of their chief is Ratu Mataki, "Sir-Envoy-to"; Likusongea are envoys to Lomaloma. Nautu are the tribe of Tui Yaro; formerly they were noble, but once they cooked turtle in Vatuvula and the chief of Mualevu was angry and smote them and so they declined until the present day. In those days the tribe of Tui Yaro kept "the cloth of the land".

Nayanggona are heralds; Nalawa, Natuvu, Wailailai, Nambureto, Nandave are plain clans.

[576] The *tama* salutation used by the men of Mualevu is *"mai o!"*; by the women *"mai na vakandua!"* The chiefs of Mualevu are called Tui Mavana. The present one is called only Sau; he has not yet been installed as Tui Mavana.

621 It is said that Mavana was the chief village of old, but Mualevu beat them. There are facts which point that way: all the old things such as the fish caught in nets (*ika tanga*) are in Mavana, none in Mualevu; all state ceremonial (*ka vakaturanga*) emerges from Mavana; the frontiers of Mavana come very close to Mualevu; there is a passage called the Mavana passage. Another informant says it was the chief village until beaten by Ndaku who gave the title of Tui Mavana to Mualevu.

643 The people of Mavana come to install the Tui Mavana, which is done as follows:

All the people assemble with a feast and pile it up in the village Green. The chief with the herald comes and sits down. All the people have retired to the bush, and no beating of bark cloth is allowed. The people of Mavana prepare the kava of the Chief (*yanggona ni tu*) on the village Green. From the time they prepare to squeeze it it is forbidden for any one to come that way, or he will be fined. Men stand with clubs and mount guard: there is not an installation ceremony at which this is not done. While the kava is being made ready, the cloth of the land is tied on the chief's right arm.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Formerly when they were allowed free run in the villages each household owned a goodly number and pork was eaten frequently. However, since pigs must be kept in pens according to government regulation and fed daily, their number has dwindled. Now pork is rarely served except at a feast for a visiting government official or a wedding of considerable importance. While in southern Lau, I was served pork only three times.

Although shining copper-green jungle fowl and grey-blue doves abound in the forests they are rarely eaten, for the natives are forbidden by colonial regulation to possess firearms and they have not adequate means or energy to trap them. One of the few jungle fowl traps I saw on Kambara had been placed in a tree laden with bright red berries on which the fowl feed. The trapper had hopefully put a sprig of berries in the trap and could not understand why no fowl were ensnared. Each household has a few domestic fowl which must be fed regularly. Native custom does not admit the eating of chicken eggs, but the flesh adds an important source of protein to the monotonous native diet.

Great grotesque coconut crabs lurk in the limestone crevices under the palms, but they are so difficult to find that they are seldom eaten. I tasted this delicious South Sea food only once. While examining an old fortress site near the highest point on Wangava we caught sight of a giant crab, weighing at least ten pounds, sidling over the jagged rocks at the foot of a lone and aged coconut palm. The native boys pounced upon the ferocious creature and, gleefully anticipating the evening's feast, lashed it to a pole, which one of them slung over his shoulder and proudly carried back to camp.

A few scraggly pet dogs and scrawny cats and occasionally a piglet haunt the village kitchen huts and earth ovens in search of scraps of food and refuse. Dogs are not eaten today, but the natives say that in the past they were a favored dish reserved for men only.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

food and washing clothes for the Sunday ceremonies and feast, and Monday is a day of recovery from the Sabbath. Tuesday and Friday are reserved for work on the gardens, and Wednesday is used for other activities including care of the village and houses.

The mission church requires a quarterly tithe from each member. When the copra industry was at its height, this tithe was paid in money, but was being paid in produce when we visited Lau, for after the slump in copra there was very little money in the southern islands. This obligation, as well as the native tax imposed by the colonial government, makes further regular demands upon the industry of the people.[36]

The growing demand for regularity in economic life conflicts with native psychology. The Lauans, as well as most non-westernized peoples, have a natural rhythm of work which differs fundamentally from the mechanical regularity imposed by a machine age civilization. They prefer to work and work best at irregular intervals interspersed with frequent rest periods, ceremonials, and feasts. This tendency toward irregular work rhythms is counteracted to a certain extent in Lau by the daily recurring problem of subsistence. At the same time even in this difficult environment the natives manage, by living at a minimum level of subsistence, to adhere to their preferred tempo.

The attempt to regulate the work habits of the natives was but one result of the gradual penetration of the principles of western economy into the group. Another was the introduction of western trade articles. Trade in imported articles focused the essential differences between the native and the western economic systems, especially regarding exchange of goods. Both the early missionaries and the government officials frowned upon the native soliciting system. Soliciting

[36] In 1933-34 the usual government head tax of £1 and the provincial tax of £1 per year were not required of the natives of Lau province on account of the low price of copra and the limited resources of the group. [651]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

656 431 439 and large ceremonial exchanges were discouraged. The exchange of property between related groups and the amount of tribute which a chief might extract from his people were limited by regulation.

178 656 431 439 These regulations have, of course, proved largely unsuccessful since the abuses they attempt to correct lie deep-rooted in the native economic system. Such rules cannot bridge the wide gap between western competitive capitalism based on money and credit, which emphasizes the accumulation of wealth by the individual, and native competitive communalism, which emphasizes the distribution of wealth by the group. They have, however, had unexpected results. The attempt to limit the exchange of goods between related groups has resulted in sapping vitality from the economic life. Distribution by competitive exchanges between related clans or villages, with its accompanying ceremonies and feasts, is a necessary stimulus to production under the native system. Moreover, instead of being curtailed, the soliciting of western trade goods has been extended outside the boundaries of the related group. Whereas formerly a man solicited only from his relatives, now he solicits trade goods from whomsoever he pleases. The effect of the limitation of tribute has been to cause the people to question the demands of their chiefs and to pay only the barest minimum. It has directly undermined the authority of the chiefs.

439 245 The development of western economy in southern Lau, as in many parts of Fiji, is closely linked with the rise of the copra trade. Between 1900 and 1920 the market price of copra rose from £9 to £25 per ton, chiefly because of the increasing demands for coconut oil in the manufacture of vegetable butter and good quality soaps. The industry in Fiji expanded rapidly, the number and area of the coconut plantations increased, and the production of copra in the colony practically